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Whereas, under the present condition of international law, the citizen of one country entering into contractual relations with a foreign government has no legal remedy against that government for breach of the contract in his own national municipal courts, and has frequently only an ineffectual and precarious remedy in the municipal courts of the defendant government; and

Whereas, the practice of governments differs widely in the prosecution of contractual claims against a foreign government, some presenting them freely and others declining to present them; and

Whereas, their prosecution by the claimant's government depends upon political considerations and expediency which may and does frequently deny all remedy to a *bona fide* claimant; and

Whereas, the presentation of a claim on *ex parte* evidence frequently results in the diplomatic pressure of grossly exaggerated claims: therefore be it

*Resolved*, That we urge upon the chambers of commerce of the United States and other business organizations here and abroad to recommend to the United States and to foreign governments the submission of this question to the third Hague Conference, with a view to bringing such purely legal claims within the jurisdiction of an impartial tribunal at The Hague, and to instructing the delegates there assembled to organize the machinery and procedure for bringing such a court and its jurisdiction into existence.

*Resolved*, That the business organizations make continued efforts to extend the membership of the Mohonk Conference among chambers of commerce of other countries, so that the chain of business men linked in the cause of international goodwill may soon extend around the whole world.

## The Whole Program of the Peace Movement.

By Hon. Richard Bartholdt.

Opening Address as President of the Fourth American Peace Congress, St. Louis, May 1, 1913.

*Ladies and Gentlemen:* To be called to the presidency of this assembly is an honor which I deeply feel and for which I shall never be able adequately to express my gratitude.

This is a congress of representative Americans convened for the avowed purpose of promoting the cause of international peace. It is the fourth of its kind, the first having been held at New York in 1907, the second at Chicago in 1909, the third at Baltimore in 1911. As a St. Louisian I am proud of the honor conferred upon this city by its selection as the meeting place of such a distinguished gathering for so noble a cause, and I am happy to say, too, that its citizenship is no stranger to the ideals for which you strive, for it was here in 1904 that the Interparliamentary Union passed its historic resolution, known in the chancelleries of the world as the "Resolution of St. Louis," which called upon the President of the United States to convene a second Hague Conference and declared at the same time in favor of universal arbitration treaties and an international parliament. Hence we are actually meeting on ground made historical by an incident which in the last

decade was destined to supply the real and vital issues of the peace movement.

It has been said that the congress meets "under war clouds." True enough, but if so, the greater the necessity, it seems to me, for this meeting and the more urgent the need of our educational propaganda. Certain people delight in reminding us with every new war of the futility of our efforts, but who dares say we are in the wrong or that our efforts will be futile in the end? As a matter of fact, the cause of peace has sufficiently advanced that even today every shot fired, every life lost, every drop of blood shed is recognized as a fervent appeal to the human conscience to heed those who urge a more humane method of settling differences between nations. In the agony, the loss, the moral damage, the hell of war, the peace movement finds, not its condemnation, but its complete justification. While the constantly imminent possibility of war and the frequent instances of actual hostilities are evidences of the disregard of its lessons, these facts, we beg to remind our jingo friends, are also proof positive that armaments are no reliable guarantees of peace. The situation, therefore, is that every recurring war, while vindicating the position of the peace party and the necessity of its existence, destroys simultaneously the stock argument of the war party, namely, the well-known assertion that armaments are unfailing safeguards against possible war. "Meeting under war clouds," then, proves nothing against us pacifists except that our advice has not yet been sufficiently heeded, but, on the other hand, no one can escape the conclusion that the continued existence of war clouds in an era of armaments is a complete refutation of the arguments of those who are constantly promising us cloudless skies as the result of big armies and big navies. Once convinced of this logic, the world is bound to turn eventually from their remedies to ours.

This is no ordinary occasion. Beyond doubt it is one of the most notable meetings ever assembled on American soil. Gathered here are men from bench and pulpit, from farm and factory, from the rostrum, the counting room, and the legislative hall, and, reinforced by American mothers and wives, these representatives of commerce, labor, education, philanthropy, religion, and reform lay aside whatever other differences may separate them and enter into hearty concurrence in favor of the world's pacification. Irrespective of any action to be taken here this congress in itself is a most significant demonstration, for it may fairly be said that through it the voice and conscience of America speak out in solemn protest against the continued shedding of human blood, at the same time admonishing governments that a system must soon be devised to safeguard peace by international agreement rather than by instruments of war, by the rule of law rather than by battleships. We may differ as to method, but we are all agreed that, as Abraham Lincoln has stopped the selling of men, the time has now come for us to stop also the killing of men—in other words, that disputes between governments shall be settled peaceably, the same as disputes between individuals. And there is no longer uncertainty even as to the method. Arbitration treaties between the great nations, a tribunal at The Hague with judicial powers, universally recognized as the world's court of arbitral justice, and a public sentiment

which will insist on the inviolability of treaties is all that is needed, in the judgment of the world's thinkers, to place this and all other nations on a permanent peace footing. And this, my friends, is the goal we strive for. It is in a nutshell the whole program of the modern peace movement, which, if carried out, will admittedly minimize the danger of war and raise our civilization upon a higher level. It will cause an automatic reduction of armaments and a consequent annual saving, in the United States alone, of a hundred million dollars or more. It will raise the standard of labor, make investments more secure, stimulate commerce and trade and, by stirring man's moral impulses, will carry him upward to his higher mission. You will all agree that, as compared with the hope of such great achievements, all other progressive measures which politicians are now trying to force upon our attention, fade into utter insignificance.

On occasions like this it is customary for the friends of universal peace to compare notes—to take stock, so to speak—of the progress made and to measure the distance they shall still have to travel toward their coveted goal. What will the answer be? That in the last fifteen years more progress has been made than in the eighteen centuries before. All the known governments of the globe, as many as there are stars in our flag, have at last consented to talk the matter over with you. For the purpose of agreeing on conditions for more permanent peace they have already held two world conferences, and the chancelleries of Europe, Asia, and America are now burning midnight oil preparing for the third. Great results, too well known to need enumeration here, have come from these councils, greater are yet to come. In the meantime the whole globe is being covered with a network of arbitration treaties, a policy entered into cautiously at first, but proclaimed more boldly by President Taft when he proposed to arbitrate practically all questions of difference between the United States and the rest of the world. Would monarchical Europe, we asked ourselves anxiously, respond with such a far-reaching concession to the invitation of a free government? Yes, for a higher unity and for more enduring peace the three greatest nations were willing to curtail their own sovereignty to that extent. It was then that the American Senate balked, but don't worry. If the men and women assembled here will do their duty, a more progressive Senate will never again prove a stumbling-block to the realization of your great ideal and mine. American public sentiment will not permit our country to be stigmatized as lagging behind and as more backward even than the military powers of the old world, and we are here to say so. But, speaking of progress, that which is intangible was as pronounced during the last fifteen years as was the visible advance. The mental attitude of governments and peoples is rapidly changing in favor of our great cause, and the press, anxious to truly reflect public opinion, is following suit. More than that. The great powers are more reluctant to resort to hostilities—in fact, are using their good offices to preserve and restore peace by combined effort. This was the case in China, and the Balkan war is a more recent example. That very war was proof of the wonderful advance of the great cause of peace. Up to ten or fifteen years ago the lighting of a match in the Balkans would have been sure to cause a European con-

flagration, and today? Why, the great powers, averse to disturbance, are jointly enforcing peace conditions by using the rod against the unruly children who are driving the Turk out of Europe. What a change, my countrymen! Bismarck said on one occasion, "If Turkey were not in existence, she would have to be invented to preserve the European balance of power;" and now, in the face even of a complete change of the Balkan map, the great governments sit spellbound, evidently afraid to make a move and too timid to fire a shot. What conclusions can we draw from this spectacle other than that the desire for peace has become stronger than even armies and navies or the temptation to use them?

With the concentration of the world's best thought upon the problem of substituting the rule of law for the rule of force, the vision has become clearer. It is no longer a hope, but a conviction; no longer a dream of theorists, but a vital principle affirmed by practical statesmen. It will not be long before it will appear in the shape of vigorous planks in the platforms of all the parties, and why? Is it because the politicians have suddenly discovered war to be a sin, a wrong, a barbarous crime? Strange to say, no. For eighteen hundred years Christianity has so taught us, but even Christian nations were not estopped by these considerations from cutting each other's throats. But what has proved stronger than moral lessons is self-interest. Under the weight of armaments the world is staggering toward bankruptcy. The military system saps the life-blood of all nations, leaving them too enfeebled to undertake the most needed internal improvements and the most necessary social and economic reforms. Business knows it cannot prosper except in times of peace. Labor knows it has to bear the burden and foot the bill of war. The farmer knows that war decimates his customers and devastates the fruit of his labor. The old theory that military power is necessary to build up a nation's trade has at last been exploded, for the trade of Norway and Belgium, unsupported by navies, is proportionately three times that of England, while the bonds of these little countries command considerably higher prices than those of the great naval powers. These, my friends, are some of the considerations which prompt a steadily increasing number of thinking men to enlist in the war against war, and will in no distant time be the propelling forces to ring out the old and ring in the new order of things.

It is plain that the world's great rulers, though willing to make concessions to the spirit of the times, will not voluntarily abolish war. Relief from that "greatest scourge of mankind," as Washington called it, must come from a country where the people rule. The millions in other lands, therefore, who are groaning under the intolerable burdens of that lingering war which is politely called armed peace, are looking to this great Republic for deliverance. The American people have proclaimed the liberty of man and demonstrated the possibility of self-government. They have set new standards and taught the world new lessons of freedom under the people's rule. They have broken with the traditions of the Old World in matters of government; will they not also depart from them, for the sake of justice, humanity, and peace, in the matters of settling differences between nations? I have an abiding faith that they will. Their own welfare and their unwritten

obligations to the world require it. The new administration, following in the footsteps of its illustrious predecessor, has already proclaimed its intention to lead, and if its plans are adopted, it will in all probability signify both the end of war and the dawn of an era when, in the language of Victor Hugo, "the only battlefield will be the market open to commerce and the mind opening to new ideas." And, thank the Lord, America again holds aloft the scepter of leadership in this great cause!

### **The Road to a High Destiny.**

**By Charles W. Fairbanks, former Vice-President of the United States.**

Address at the Fourth National Peace Congress, St. Louis, May 1, 1913.

One of the most gratifying movements of the day is the progress made toward the preservation of the world's peace. The problem concerns alike all nations, great and small, for they have been brought into such fellowship with each other through the marvelous development of the agencies for social and commercial intercourse that a war among any of the powers affects in greater or less degree all others. The inexorable logic of events is bringing all nations into more intimate relations with each other, so that in the very nature of things the problem of peace, while great today, will be greater and more important tomorrow. There will be no more hermit kingdoms; nations will no longer dwell apart as in the older day, and they will have a constantly increasing interest in all that tends to make for war or peace the world about.

We sometimes in our impatience feel that the cause of international arbitration advances very slowly; yet when we compare what has been accomplished during the last quarter of a century with what was done prior thereto we find that after all the world moves and that it is moving in the right direction. It is, of course, difficult for people to cast off their long inherited prejudices. To invite a nation to put up the sword is in the minds of some to challenge its virility and courage. They falsely reason that only weak, defenseless nations should be expected to resort to arbitration; that full-grown, robust powers will, of course, be able to defend themselves, and that war is in some way necessary to develop a strong and manly people.

#### **THE NATIONAL DEFENSE.**

The colossal sums which are annually spent by different nations in preparation for the national defense upon land and sea are continually growing greater and the burden of it all is becoming more grievous and unbearable. The tax which is laid upon the backs of the great mass of the people for war purposes, even when no war threatens, leads them to hope and pray for relief. They do not understand why in this enlightened age nations cannot adjust their differences which challenge settlement by the ordinary means of diplomacy in some peaceful and honorable way, without a resort to force. As one enters the ports of different countries he is struck by the enormous expenditures of money and energy in the erection of fortifications; he is impressed by the powerful navies and the military establishment which is maintained everywhere.

The competition to increase the size and efficiency of the military and naval power of various countries is everywhere manifest. It is an astounding fact that the annual military budget of ten of the leading powers is nearly two billions of dollars, a greater sum by far than was ever imposed upon the people at any time in the history of the world. We boast of our advanced civilization and are proud of the evidences of our progress toward higher and better things in countless avenues of activity; we feel that the world is growing better and that the people are coming to a better mutual understanding; yet we are amazed that the great powers have not long ere this come to such an agreement as would render unnecessary the tremendous drain for war purposes. The hope of mankind is that Christian civilization may yet substitute for wasteful and brutal war some enlightened, efficient agency for the peaceful adjustment of differences among nations.

#### **UNITED STATES A WORLD POWER.**

It is with immeasurable pride we look upon the United States as a world power. She is certainly worthy of this high dignity. We are pleased to believe, however, that her right to be so regarded does not rest upon her material strength, or her capacity to make war, but rather upon the political principles upon which the Republic is founded and upon her exalted example. The fact is that since our national career began our democracy has been exercising a profound influence upon the political institutions of other countries around the globe; other peoples have been fashioning their organic laws more and more after the principles which found expression in our immortal charter of liberty; we have been overturning monarchies and shaking the foundations of absolutism—not by the force of our armies and navies, but by the irresistible influence of our political laws and customs.

The United States has, indeed, been playing an important part in the world's politics and has always been in the best sense a world power. The position she holds today at the council table of the nations is of distinct importance; it is such as to command in a large degree the confidence of people in both hemispheres. Our distance from the theater of the world's politics; our freedom from embarrassing alliances abroad; our ability to make war if need be and our traditional policy in favor of peace; our absolute impartiality with respect to other nations; our lack of desire for territorial expansion—give us exceptional strength as one of the foremost leaders in the cause of the world's peace.

God Almighty has intrusted us with great power, and it is our duty to use it so as to advance, so far as we reasonably may, the welfare of mankind—not by intermeddling in the domestic concerns of our neighbors, but by setting before them a good example in precept and practice.

#### **MUST KEEP OUR TREATIES.**

If America is to attain a high destiny she must always faithfully preserve her solemnly plighted word. If our country is to have weight in the world's affairs we must keep our treaties in letter and spirit—not occasionally, but always—not when it suits us, but when it does not suit us also.

The question which has recently arisen growing out of our treaty with Great Britain respecting the Panama